

killing in Kosovo. Can't we stop killing civilians who are not involved in this while we talk about what our options might be?

I think one of the most trenchant and insightful analyses of what happened to this country in Vietnam was written by Barbara Tuchman in a book called "The March of Folly." In that book she described how people persist in going after solutions that do not work, because they do not want to admit that it won't work, and they are sure that if we just keep bombing a little bit longer, somehow something will work out.

Shortly after I had my exchange with Secretary Albright, the President, President Clinton, was asked, "What will you do if the bombing does not work?" He was asked by the Prime Minister of Italy. According to the Washington Post, he looked startled at the question, then turned to National Security Advisor Sandy Berger for an answer. Mr. Berger gave him the answer, "We will continue bombing."

To me, that is folly. To me, that is not Churchillian. To me, that is not looking around to see what else might be there. I suggest, again, I call for a suspension of the bombing while we review our options, admit that the bombing hasn't worked and try to devise a new strategy that will. Perhaps there is none. After all of this analysis we may come to the conclusion there is nothing we can do now that the brutalities have taken place and the Kosovars have been driven from their homes. There may be nothing we can do effectively to restore them. For those who say how humiliating it would be for the United States to admit that, I ask this question, "How humiliating will it be if we go forward and fail to achieve our goals? Wouldn't we have been better off in Vietnam if we had admitted that we were not getting it done long before the time came when that humiliating scene we all saw on our television screens of the helicopters above the Embassy in Saigon was broadcast throughout all the world?"

I voted for the supplemental bill that provided the military funds with respect to the operation in Kosovo. I did so because I lost the first debate. The bombing went on. The funds were spent. The President has exhausted all of the funds of the Department of Defense through the balance of this year, and it would be irresponsible, in my view, not to replenish those funds so the Defense Department can function now. I voted to replenish the funds that have already been spent. But I call on us to stop spending those funds now, while we undertake a comprehensive review of our strategy and address, once again, the fundamental question that was not answered in the beginning, and has not been answered so far, which is still, "Will it work?"

I conclude by saying that the historic figure upon whom I called for the rationality of answering that question is

Winston Churchill, the man who went to the front lines and saw that trench warfare was insanity and came back to become the father of the tank, who looked for another alternative. There must be something better than what is happening in Kosovo right now. Let us suspend the bombing and search for it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. President, I have an additional 5 minutes under my control, which I yield to the Senator from Nebraska, Mr. HAGEL.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Nebraska will yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized.

Mr. HAGEL. I am happy to yield to my colleague from North Dakota.

#### EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I have cleared this request. I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended until the hour of 1:30, and that at 1 I be recognized for 20 minutes in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The distinguished Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

#### 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE

Mr. HAGEL. I thank the Chair, and I thank my friend and colleague from Utah for some additional time.

I rise today to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the creation of the modern American Foreign Service.

We have all traveled abroad. I have visited over 60 countries over the years. As many Americans, I have seen firsthand the dedication of professional Foreign Service officers in some of the most difficult and dangerous working environments in the world.

There is no longer any clear division between domestic and international issues. Transportation, trade, telecommunications, technology, and the Internet have changed all that.

As our Nation grew, it became more globally engaged. Over the last 200 years, year after year, America has become an international community. In 1860, we had only 33 diplomatic missions around the world. But we had 253 consular posts abroad, primarily involved in supporting our Nation's dramatic economic growth and trade expansion. As America's role in the world grew, we took on more responsibility. America's diplomacy needed to draw from the broad strength of our democratic society. And that, too, grew.

The solution was the Rogers Act of 1924. This act created America's first professional competitive Foreign Service. It merged the small, elite diplomatic corps with the more broadly based consular services. The Rogers Act established a merit-based exam system to recruit the best our growing

Nation had to offer without regard to family ties or political favors.

America's diplomats are unsung heroes. Americans understand and appreciate the sacrifices of duty, honor, and country we ask every day from our military around the world. However, not enough Americans know about the sacrifices we also ask every day from our American Foreign Service officers around the world. Just like our military, they serve our national interests abroad in an increasingly uncertain and dangerous world.

Our military's purpose is to fight and win wars. The purpose of our diplomats is to prevent wars. This makes recognition for their work more difficult. This is a little like listening for the dog that doesn't bark. But our Foreign Service officers do much more than prevent wars and resolve crises. They negotiate agreements to expand trade and open up foreign markets. They protect Americans abroad who find themselves in trouble and many more important responsibilities. They explain American policies to often hostile nations. They help negotiate arms control agreements to stem the dangerous proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The work of the Foreign Service is relevant. It is very relevant to the daily lives of every American. Their many successes are often unheralded. We take them for granted. The Foreign Service has endured the same underfunding and poor working conditions as has our military services. In the last decade, the Foreign Service has experienced similar recruitment and retention problems, as has the military.

Since 1992, the Foreign Service has declined 11 percent, even while we have asked the Foreign Service to open up new missions in Central Asia and Eastern Europe and increase staffing in China. This has led to sharp staff reductions elsewhere in the world.

In my travels, as I am sure in your travels, Mr. President, and all of our colleagues' travels, we have also seen how run down and dangerous many of our embassies around the world have become. This has a real impact on our national interest. This is as dangerous as what we have been doing to our military. It is like asking the Air Force to permanently maintain an increased flight tempo with aging aircraft and a severe shortage of pilots. This all has serious consequences to our country. Few appreciate how dangerous it has become for our diplomats who defend America's interests the world.

Since World War II, more ambassadors have been killed in the line of duty than generals and admirals. The Secretary of State has commemorated 186 American diplomats who have died under "heroic or inspirational circumstances."

Finally, in today's global community, we have a greater need for an active, energetic, and visionary foreign policy and those who carry out that foreign policy than ever before.